1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

241 the handle forms a very acute angle with the blade. After ploughing, the fields are prepared with manure, *lúd*,* which consists either of *Yák-lúd*, yák's dung, or of *Lúk-lúd*, sheep's dung. Occasionally they use cow-
[372] dung, *Yák-chi* or *Ba-chi*. But in a country where fire-wood is so scarce as not to be obtainable by any but the richest classes, all kinds of dung are in daily use as fuel, and but little can be spared for enriching the land.

In a dry country like Ladák, where it seldom snows and scarcely ever rains, the harvest is entirely dependent upon artificial irrigation. The waters of the smaller streams are arrested by dams (*chhu-lon*), and conducted with considerable skill and care from terrace to terrace, and from field to field. I was particularly struck with the laborious irrigation bestowed upon the rich lands of Sáspul, and with the bold ingenuity displayed in the aqueducts of Kambo and Hardas. The former is a small village on the left bank of the Purik river (the Waká-chu). The latter is on the left bank of the Drás river. The Kambo aqueduct is only about one mile in length, but the Hardas aqueduct is nearly three miles long. These canals, which are conducted several hundred feet above the villages, are mostly built up with a retaining wall, and puddled with clay to hold the water. In a few places the rock itself was excavated to form a passage for the water, but in other places, where the hill was too precipitous, or the rock was too hard, the water was passed along hollow poplar and willow trunks, which were supported by uprights standing on ledges of the rock, or on huge pegs driven into its crevices.

● 804 The land in Ladák is all measured by the *Khál*, or

* *Lád*, dung. Cow-dung is called *gYag-lChi* or *Ba-lChi*.

L Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Bhára-khál-kyi,* which is a field that requires one khál of seed. The produce is likewise reckoned in kháls. This word khál means simply a load or burden of any kind, and is apparently the same as the Indian *khára*, or *khári*, which is a measure of twenty bháras; while the *kharika* is that sized field which requires a *khári* of seed. In the Hindu Himálayas, a *bharao* (bharava†) is that sized field which requires a *bhára* of seed. Thus, in each country the estimate is made according to the most usual means of transport. In Tibet and in the Botiyan Himálayas, where sheep are almost the only means of transport, all estimates are made in the khál, or *luk-khál*, that is, a sheep's load of from 12 to 16 seers each (24 to 32 lb.). In the Hindu Himálayas, where men or women carry everything, all measures are reckoned in the *bharao*, or man's load (*bhára*) of 32 seers (64 lb.). In the plains of India, where *gáris*, or carts, are used, the reckoning is made by the *khári*, which is a load of 20 *bháras*, equal to 12 or 15 cwt.

When the term *khál* is used alone, a sheep's load is always intended, for all other loads are distinguished by a prefix, as *Yák-khál*, an "ox-load;" *Ta-khál*, a "horse-load." The common khál, or sheep's load, is equal to 5 battis of $2\frac{1}{2}$ seers or 5 lb. each, or 8 battis of 2 seers or 4 lb. each, or just about half a bushel; and as in England the usual quantity of seed per acre is about two bushels, or one cwt., the size of a khál of land will be equal to a quarter of an acre, or one rood. But as the seed is much more broadly sown in Ladák than in

* *Khál* or *Bhára-khál-kyi*. The occurrence of *bh* shows that *Bhára* is a word of Indian origin. *Khál-kBo* is a "khál measure."

† *Bhárava*, from *Bhára*, a load.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetam AJ4

804 England, I should estimate the khál of land at about one-third of an English acre, or even more.

241 The seed is sown in May, and the crops are cut in September, before the first fall of snow. On the 16th of September, 1846, on the bank of the Tshomoriri lake, at an elevation of 15,000 feet, I found the Lamas of the Korzo Gonpa (monastery) cutting a field of unripe barley. The sky was very cloudy and threatening, especially to the southward, and the poor Lamas expected snow, which, if it fell upon the standing crop, would, they said, destroy it. The crop was all cut by the evening, and removed, and the next day it snowed without intermission for twenty-four hours. The crops are either pulled up by the roots or cut close to the roots, with a *zorpa*, or sickle, to get as much straw as possible for the winter fodder of the cattle. When cut, it is generally spread out on the ground to ripen and dry, but occasionally it is loosely bound in sheaves.* The return varies according to the quality of the soil and the quantity of manure. In Drás, Moorcroft heard that it was "about twenty for one;" but according to my informants, the best lands in Ladák Proper, at Sabu, near Lé, and at Sakté, in the Chimra valley, do not yield more than ten-fold; while the poorer lands give a return of only five or six-fold, or on an average eight-fold. But the richer lands, in the Suru valley, and on the Waká and Drás rivers, which enjoy a milder climate and a moister atmosphere, generally yield from ten to fifteen-fold. The average return for the whole of Ladák may therefore be estimated at about ten-fold, or perhaps less.

Two ears of bearded barley from Lé gave a return of

* A sheaf is called *Chhwa-po*.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

is a thin irregular-shaped piece of silver, about the size of a shilling, with a Persian inscription on each side. On the centre of the obverse is the name of *Mahmud Shah*, surrounded by a circle of large dots. The inscription on the reverse is difficult to read, but the upper line is certainly *Bután*, which is the Kashmiri name of Ladák. The second, or middle line, is perhaps *Zarb;* and the two together form *Zarb-i-Butan*, "struck in Batan." Below is the word *sanh*, or *sanat*, and a figured date, which looks like 878, but of what era it is impossible to say.* As the coins bear the title of Mahmud Shah, they cannot date earlier than A.D. 1687, when the Gyalpo of Ladák was nominally converted to Muhammedanism, after the expulsion of the *Sokpos* by the troops of Ibrahim Khan, the governor of Kashmir under Aurangzeb. The coins which I possess all bear the same date; and, as they are but little worn on the surface, they cannot have been minted for any great length of time. The date, which I should have expected to find on these coins, is the Hijra year 1099, equivalent to A.D. 1687, which was the year of the Gyalpo's conversion.

The gold coins in use are called *Ser-jao*, or "golden jao," or simply *Ser-ki-dong*, or "golden coins." All coins are called *Dong*, or *Dong-tse*. The silver coins are named *Nul-ki-dong*, or simply *Nuk-dong*, and the copper coins *Zangi-dong*, or *Zang-dong*.† Ready money, or cash, is called *Marba*, or *Markyang*.

The weights of Ladák are the *Batti* and the *Man*, or *Maund*. The Batti is equal to two Indian seers or

* See Plate XIV. for a sketch of one of these coins.

† *gSer-kyi-Dong*, golden coin; *dNul-kyi-dong*, silver coin; and *Zangs-kyi-dong*, copper coin.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

804 thirty-two chitaks. The name is no doubt derived from the Hindi word *Battis*, "thirty-two."* Indeed the measure itself, as well as the name, is Indian, and the Ladákis most probably derived it from the neighbouring hill states. The man or maund is equal to eight battis, or sixteen seers, and is therefore the same as the small maund of India.

The only other Ladáki measure with which I am acquainted is the *Khál*. This term has already been explained with reference to the measurement of land, in my account of the vegetable productions. The *Khál*, which is the universal measure for all kinds of heavy produce, but more especially for grain, is of two kinds: the *Dek-khál*, or the "weight khál," and the *Shor-khál*, or "measure khál."† The common *Khál*, whether by weight or measure, is the well-known quantity of a sheep's load, *Luk-khál*, which is equal to eight battis, or one maund of sixteen Indian seers, or thirty-two pounds English.‡ This is usually named simply *khál*, but when the larger measures are mentioned, the prefix is always used, as *Tá-khál*, the "horse khál," which is equal to four maunds, or 128 lb.; and the Yak-khál, which is the same.

* In Hindi बत्तीस.

† *kDegs-khal* and *gShor-khal* or *Pre-bu*.

‡ Trebeck's valuation is the same. See Moorcroft's Travels, II. p. 70.

423
804
241

[2] ACRE--Land is not measured by the acre in Ladák. A "holding," which may consist of a few or of many acres is termed a "zhing" a word which really means "arable land." The "zhing" is said to contain a certain number of "khal." The "khal" is the weight which a sheep can carry, which is from 24 to 30 pounds. For purposes of land measurement the "khal" is always understood to mean about 24 pounds, and a "khal" of land is that amount, for the sowing of which 24 pounds of grain is required. Pandit Radha Kishen, Rai Bahadur, who was Wazir of Ladák for some years, and who surveyed the whole country, with a view to introducing a new system of taxing land, informed me in 1886, that the "khal" of Ladak was almost identical with the "kanal" of the Punjab. Now a "kanal" is equal to 20 "marlahs," each "marlah" measuring 16 1/2 x 16 1/2 feet, this makes the "khal" equal to about one-eighth of an acre.

[651]

General Cunningham in his "Ladák" writes that a "khal" is about 32 pounds in weight, and that when used as a measure for land, it means about one-third of an acre; according to this, a "khal" of 24 pounds would be equal to one-fourth of an acre.

597

ADOPT TO--poodot cho ches or poodot len ches (a son, etc.). In Ladák, adoption of children is not rare. If a married couple have no children or child, or after the death of such child or children, they may adopt some one belonging to their own family and caste. Usually, if both husband and wife are alive, the husband adopts a child from among his own relatives, while the wife adopts one from among her own relatives. If the husband adopts a son, the wife adopts a daughter, and vice versa. There are no rules, I believe, as to limit of age, but it is the custom to adopt children of from 10 to 20 years [3] of age. The adopted children, not being blood relations, are at once married; if they have children, no further adoption is permissible; but if they are childless, their adoptive parents can adopt another couple of children. If the husband of a childless wife is dead, the wife can adopt a male and a female child, and in the same way if the wife is dead, the husband can adopt children. Under no circumstances can a Ladák set aside his own children, or adopt children unless the house is childless. If an

[583]

[428]

764
614
793

lift the corpse, and place it upon the chief mourners back, the latter then, bends down leaning upon two sticks carried in the two hands, and aided by the "phas-spun" carries the corpse to the entrance of the house; here it is placed in a square shaped coffin or box (rórGHam) provided by the monastery conducting the funeral. The rórGHam is then carried either by the "phas-spun" or relatives of the deceased, to the burning ground. If the chief mourner is a woman, she does not come to the burning ground, but, after having walked 3 times round the coffin and prostrated herself before it 3 times, she is conducted back to the house.

On the way to the burning ground, the Lámás go in front, praying and playing musical instruments, then follow the relatives, etc., and last of all comes the coffin. The corpse is placed in a sort of oven; the face being put down against the ground; the wood is then lighted and ghee is poured over the corpse by the Lámás.

When the first bone drops from the body, probably after 3 or 4 hours, the funeral ends, though the "phas-spun" remain to complete the burning. The Lámás take the bone back to the "Chhopkhang" of the deceased, and there pound it up, mix a little clay with it, and put it into a mould, which shapes it into a figure or idol (tshatsha). If the deceased was a rich man, this figure is built into a "Chhorten," (see Cenotaph) built for the purpose, and if he was poor man, the figure (tshátshá) is taken and placed in any old "chhorten". On the evening of this day, an open air feast is given to the mourners who then disperse.

778

804 [51]FURLONG--The Ladákis do not measure distances as we do, but the Indian word "kós" or "kóso" is generally understood to mean about 1 1/2 to 2 miles. The Tibetan method of measurement is by the "migthoug," which means the distance, up to which a man can be clearly seen with the naked eye. In the clear atmosphere of Ladák, this would mean about 1 1/2 miles. Another method of measurement is by the "thang" or "plateau". This is of very little use, as the "thang" may be only a few hundred yards long, or it may be several miles long. For further information, see under "Lineal measure".

arrangement serves with them for a hinge. 000

[62] HOE--pharooa (large spade-like implement for digging) thoktsey (small narrow implement used for weeding or digging up earth round roots of flowers, etc.). 241

[63]

HOT SPRING--chhootshan. There are a good many of these, the principal ones being at Pooga, Panámik, Changlung ShooSHól, and Kiám. The Kiám spring which is the hottest, has a temperature of 179° and is impregnated with soda and sulphur. 133

HOUR--chhootshot i.e., water measure--so called because the Dógras, who first taught the Tibetans to count time by the hour, used for an hour glass, a brass bowl so made, with a small hole in it, that when placed in a pan of water, it floated for exactly an hour, after which owing to the weight of water gradually taken in through the hole, it sank. 804● 177

HOUSE--khángpa or khampa (general), khar (of a king), zimskhang (of a great man), táSHak (of a Láma not residing in a monastery) zimSHak or zimSHung (of a "skooSHok" or "incarnation". These persons never live in a monastery but have quarters close by) khángzhik or khángoo (a small hut) GHunsa (the word means "winter place" and is used to indicate the house in a village occupied by a villager during the winter) yártsa (meaning "summer place" is used to indicate the house out in the fields, where the cultivator lives during the summer, so as to be near his work). 342

HOVEL--khángoo or khangzhik (a small and poor house) pooloo (the small dry stone wall shelter-places to be found near the tops of mountain passes and in other out of the way places, sometimes with slab-stone roof, generally without any roof, but never containing any wood work, as this would inevitably be stolen and used for fire-wood).

[64]

HUSBAND--toks or troks or zhidmat. The words mean also "wife". Polyandry is almost universally practised among the Buddhists of Ladák. Matrimony and the law of entail (which see) are closely connected. The eldest son inherits the whole of the family property, and he it is who is entitled to marry a wife. 601 590 428 583

[93]LINEAGE--roospa or riks. 613

LINEAL MEASURE--The lineal measures of Ladák, which are exceedingly rough, are as follows:-- 804

1 sor - 1 finger breadth	= about	1/4 inch.
1 lakpa - 5 fingers breadth	= "	4 inches.
1 peetho - distance of span, with thumb and forefinger	= "	8 "
1 thógang - full span, with thumb and little finger	= "	10 "
1 skanggang - distance from elbow to knuckle	= "	14 "
1 thoogang - distance from elbow to tip of fingers	"	18 "
1 domgang - distance from finger tip to finger tip with the arms held out straight from the sides	= "	6 feet.
1 giangtak - as far as the human voice can be heard	= "	300 yards.
1 migthong - as far as a man can be seen with the naked eye. In the clear air of Ladák this would	= "	2 miles.
1 lamphet or "half a day's journey," also called zanlam or tshallam or "the breakfasting distance	= "	6 miles.
ngeemáchik or ngeenlamchik or "a day's journey"	= "	12 "

For further information see under heading "Mile."

LIVID--rdong nakpo gioor ches. If a Ladáki means to say that a person changed colour in any way, owing to fear or shame, or any other unpleasant sensation, he would say his face turned black. But if the change of colour was [94] attributable to any pleasant sensation, he would say his face turned white. 152 822

LOAN--skinba or skinbó or respectfully karkeen; a loan either of money, grain, etc., and on which no interest is charged. Bulon, a loan of any sort, on which interest is charged. Yártey, a loan, when the identical article lent is to be returned. 426

LOCKET--kabzóma. The rectangular, box-like, locket, made of silver or copper, and worn by Ladákis suspended from a necklace or string round the neck. It usually contains musk or religious charms. 301 788

meat if possible; (4) zára or dzára taken about 2 o'clock, and consisting of satoo and tea or milk, (5) GHonzan taken at evening time, consisting of satoo, tea or milk, with meat and vegetables if possible. 264 262

The poor people eat only chheenan zára and GHonzan.

MEASURE--tap-ches (a foot rule or other measure). 804

An account of the lineal measures in use in Ladák has already been given under the heading "Lineal Measure." For ordinary dry goods, the Indian system of weighing by seers and maunds is used, and sometimes the Kashmiri weights, called "Kacha" weights, are used, thus the following table may be drawn up:--

1 Chittak	(Indian)	=	2 ounces.
1 Seer	(Kashmiri)	=	12 2/3 ounces.
1 Seer	(Indian)	=	2 pounds.
1 Batti	(Kashmiri)	=	4 "
1 Maund	(Kashmiri)	=	32 "
1 "	(Indian)	=	80 "

[565]

The lower classes are not generally familiar with the "Chittak," they guess at any weight less than a seer.

Salt and rice and all other grains not grown in Ladák, are weighed by the above measures, but for grains grown in Ladák, the following is the system of measurement. The units of measurement are the khal, the bo or bho, and the trey or brey, or (in composition) drey.

In ordinary use there are three kinds of each of the above measures, viz., the sär-khal, the yool-khal and the phokskhal the sär-bo the yool-bo and the phoks-bo also the sär-drey, the yool-drey, and the phoks-drey. Consequently if a man speaks of any of these three measures, he must be asked which of them it is to which he refers.

There are also two other measures, the one called "pundrey" and the other "ongsdrey."

The "pundrey" is the measure used in monasteries for measuring grain paid back, as interest, on grain borrowed from the monastery. I am told it is a rather large "brey" measure.

The "ongsdrey" is used only at harvest time, for measuring, or dividing, the cleaned grain crop. I am told it is only an ordinary "brey" measure heaped up. Neither of these are of any consequence as they are not in general use, but the followi g

●804 table of the common measures may be useful. I caused the measures to be filled with barley, and I then had the barley weighed, so the figures below given must be accurate so far as they go, but I presume that no two "brey" or "bho" wooden measures, are of exactly the same size:--

		Srs.	Chtk.	Tola.
1 särdrey	=	0	8	3
1 yooldrey	=	0	10	3
1 Phoksdrey (or lchaksdrey)	=	0	11	4
1 särbo (or särbho)	=	2	11	0
1 yoolbo (or yoolbho)	=	3	2	0
1 phoksbo (or phoksbho)	=	3	11	4
1 särkhal (or 4 särbo)	=	10	8	0
1 yoolkhal (or 4 yoolbo)	=	12	8	0
1 yhokskhal (or 4 phoksbo)	=	14	12	0

I have tried to obtain the weights which would correspond to our Apothecaries' weights, but have failed. The two local medicine men, to whom I applied, said the names existed, but not the actual weights, these latter being used at Lhása, but not in Ladák, where medicine is measured out as amounting to the weight of a rupee, the tenth of a rupee, or as the case may be.

[101] In the Ladák Gazetteer certain measures called "Troy" and "Avoirdupois" are given, but as far as I can make out, in addition to the measures already herein given, there remains only one table of weights, which may be called either "Troy" or "Apothecaries," but not "Avoirdupois," and this, according to Strachey, is as follows:--

1 skarma	=	6 grains.
1 ka	=	15 "
1 sho or sro	=	1 drachm.
1 SHang or srang	=	1 1/4 ounces.

The (Lhása) "Troy weight" as given in the Gazetteer is as follows:--

1 skarma	=	1 grain.
2 1/2 skarma	=	1 kagang.
4 ka	=	1 SHógang.
10 SHo or sro	=	1 SHangang.
50 SHang or srang	=	1 SHilka or dotsat or Chinese silver ingot, weighing 166 2/3 Indian Tolahs.

000 MEDAL--Medals were not known in Ladák in the days of the Ladák

MEDAL--Medals were not known in Ladák in the days of the Ladák Rajas; but soldiers who distinguished themselves in the field, were given grants of land. 703 423

[102]METEMPSYCHOSIS--Ladákis are believers in the theory of metempsychosis or the transmigration of souls; skieywa thop ches is the word used to signify re-embodiment of a "soul" or "life." They think that re-births are according to merit, that is to say, that if a man has led a virtuous life in this world, he will get a better re-birth than if he had led a vicious life. A very great and good man may take re-birth as a "skooSHok," (see "Incarnation"), but that is a very unusual occurrence. There are six classes into which ordinary re-births take place--the first on the list is the most to be desired, and each succeeding one is worse than the one before it. 775 779

(1) hla (gods or fairies); (2) hlámáeen (demi-gods); (3) mee (man); (4) tutro or tudro (animal); (5) eedak (a fabulous animal supposed to be always suffering from hunger and thirst, owing to its having a huge belly, but a long thin neck like, a hair of a horses tail, and through which sufficient nourishment can never pass to satisfy the cravings of stomach); (6) ngiálwa (hell, but unlike the Christian hell it is only for a time; for according to the Buddhist religion there is no such a thing as everlasting punishment).

The expression "tharlam (or tharpa) thop ches" signifies "to escape from further re-births," and "chírmeeldzokpa" signifies "one who has attained nirvána, and will not return to earth."

MILE--The word "mile" is not generally understood, but most Ladákis have an idea as to the "kós" which they put down at about a mile and a half. The ordinary way of measuring long distances is by the "ngeemachik" or ngeenlamchik, or "days journey," consisting of about 12 miles. For short distances they measure by the "thán," i.e., plateau, or fan, but as a "thán" may measure a few hundred yards or several miles, this system of measurement is not of much use. For particulars regarding the "migthong" and other measures of distance, see under the heading "Lineal measure". 804

MILL--ranthak (water-mill) hlungskhor (wind-mill, to be seen in Chángthán not in Ladak; they are very small, and only grind about 2 pounds of grain per diem), lakskhor (hand-mill). 256

776 legs astride, a dwarf only a tru (21) high, his beard just as long, wearing

[804] 21 1 tru (k'ru) is equivalent to the length of the lower arm of an adult person from the elbow to the tip of his extended middle finger.

a cap and carrying a stick. The Balu (dwarf) had, as my neighbor told me, looked at him sharply and then he had laughted broadly and shrewdly at the man who almost fell off his little horse because he was so frightened and a little drunk with the beer."

[532] One evening Konchog Trashi brought a picture along for his young friend /43/ whose thirst for knowledge was a pleasure to him. The picture had been made by a mask maker and painter Ishe Lhundrub, who also produced the hideous devils' masks for the monastery and painted the pictures of the Buddhas, holy men, and gods. He had painted it on paper copying it from models in varied, shining colors and then he had mounted it on silk. It represented the terrible goddess of revenge dPal-ldan-Lha-mo (22). She is the wife of the god of death and

22. The dreadful goddess of terror Kali of Hindu mythology. There she is the wife of Shiva, the destroyer.

prince of hell Shin-je (gśin-rje, Sanskrit Yama). "This couple had a son. Father and son were enemies of the sacred teachings of Buddha," so recounted Konchog Trashi, "and the son attempted to extinguish this doctrine. Thereupon the mother who was a zealous adherent of the faith, became enraged, killed her disloyal son, skinned him, ate his heart and drank his blood from a bowl which she made from the skull of her son. Then she mounted her yellow mule upon which she had placed the skin of her son as a saddle-cloth and fled from the rage of her husband. Now Shin-je pursued his angry spouse and murderess of their child and shot a magic arrow at the fleeing goddess which hit the mule in the rear shank. Lhamo, however, transformed the wound by a magical formula into an eye and thus escaped the raging husband. Since that time dPal-ldan Lha-mo has been the fiercest fighter for the sacred doctrine of Buddha."

Konchog Trashi showed his young, eager friend the picture of the Dreadful One. There she is shown riding along on her pale yellow mule through a sea of blood in which the hacked-off limbs of the enemies of Buddha, who have been killed in battle, are floating. The

to buy some barley from Norbu Wangchug. It is true that he preferred 584
to buy from other farmers because the old Chirpon (34) had a mean

34. Chirpon is a corruption of ĉibs-dpon, in English "horse master" (stable master). It is one of the titles which stem from the time of the kings when the bearers of the title were court officials. The titles have been preser ed in the names of the houses. [552]

trick of weighing his goods too short. He always weighed /57/ the things himself on his old scales with the wooden scale-beam and the balance-scales made of goat's leather. And when he weighed something before you, always two batti (equivalent of four pounds) at a time, it all looked quite correct; but if one later weighed it again at home, it was never right. But for the sake of his nephew the uncle was willing to take this into the bargain for this one time; including the haughty nature that Norbu liked to display For--in a completely casual manner--Stobsldan was to ask Norbu whether a proposal on the part of Drogpa Namgyal for the hand of Chosskyid would have any prospect of success. [804]

In the evening, as it was getting dark, he came back, with his head and his limbs again heavy from beer and talking With difficulty and awkwardly he dismounted from his horse, and laboriously he climbed up the bad stone steps to his brother's house. He was received with questioning looks and words, and with comical weightiness and forced sureness he steered towards his seat at the stove in the chansa (living room-kitchen). Again the relatives and the tribe are all gathered together. After Stobsldan has emptied a few bowls of butter tea which the housewife has poured out for him, and after he has smoked a few draughts on the water pipe of the master of the house, he began his report. The parents of Chosskyid, he said, had at first been very cool and had behaved as though they were galons and he a begging beda. Nothing could come of the marriage; there had been so many who had asked this girl in marriage; if she wanted to she could hang a suiter from each of her fingers. And there were among these men of a quite superior rank to the Dragshos, against whom the father did not want to say anything otherwise, since after all he was a good friend of his father's. But this marriage could not possibly be brought about While the girl's father had been talking, the men present in that house had made extensive fun of Stobsldan. But the latter had not given in; he

585 as many guests of a superior rank as possible, so that they could show off with their aristocratic connections and also outdo the other side.
431 Lobsang Wanggyal was less inclined towards this, since he favored a limited number of guests; but his mother insisted upon severe competition here. However, honor and dignity bring burdens with them (noblesse oblige) Every guest had to receive a gift, and the more aristocratic he was, the greater the gift would have to be. A considerable list of guests was finally drawn up. There was the galon from Jangpa near Leh who, the people in the Chirpon house in Tingmogang claimed, was related to them. According to custom /72/ he had to receive nine greeting ribbons of yellow silk (mt'san-pa); each of the five lamas who were asked to attend the engagement ceremony received 13 greeting ribbons, the lonpo from Domkhar, whom the Dragshos people invited as their relative, received nine, the three village magistrates of Kalatse, Teya, and Tingmogang each received seven greeting bands and the remaining farmer relatives and members of the clan, according to his standing, rank and property, were given five to seven tsanpa as a greeting and a mark of esteem. The best men, the bridesmaids and the female friends of the bride (bag-rogs) were each to obtain three rupees and four pieces of calico. As a formality the parents of the bride received the same present from the Dragshos house.

585 Finally they discussed what kind of expenses should be incurred at the wedding. Old Norbu Wangchug wanted to make a great display. He made his demands nonsensically high. The Kalatse people were in favor of a more modest celebration, for they and their clan had to pay most of the expenses. Finally they agreed upon five sheep that were to be killed, 40 chang (clay vessels of beer), 300 flat bread cakes, two bati (56) Ziegeltee /tile tea/, seven hide sacks of butter, and in

[804] 56. 1 bati is equivalent to four pounds of English weight, equalling 1,800 grams.

addition salt, natron, vegetables, onions as much as the cook would demand, the necessary greeting cloths, and other things of the kind

000 Finally they were tired of haggling and for the rest of the evening they gave themselves over entirely to enjoyment and rejoicing. They ate, they drank, they sang, and they danced. Once even the bridegroom joined the men engaged in drinking and talking. But not for long. He did not enjoy noisy company. Once or twice the bride

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

439 Chapter IV, D. Weights and Measures, and Communications.

and the wooden vessels from Kanáwar, coarse cloth, dying drugs soda and yeast from Ladákh, and iron from Mandi and Kanáwar. For a reference to the trade in ponies, see *ante* page 136.

SECTION D.—WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, AND COMMUNICATIONS.

000 Communications.

The communications of Láhaul and Spiti have been fully described in Parts I and II (pages 195-96 and Chapter IV, Section D).

Local measure.

804

The mode of expressing the measurement of land in both Spiti and Láhaul resembles the method prevalent in Kúlu. The Láhaul denomination is the *lákh*, which contains 20 *páth*, both being primarily measures of seed. The *páth* as a measure of seed is equivalent to about one *seer* of standard weight. Three *khál* or *lákh* (land measure) are about equal to one standard acre. In Spiti the *khál* is the measure, and is based upon the load a sheep can carry. It contains 20 *teh*, and is smaller than the Láhauli *lákh*, ranging in capacity between 24 and 32lbs. of grain. The two measures are really the same in origin and use, though differing in name and standard.

9. Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4 Ladak

SOME NOTES ON LADAKHI CURRENCY.

BY A. H. FRANCKE.

WITH reference to Colonel Temple's paper on the Beginnings of Currency, *ante*, Vol. XXIX. pp. 29 ff., 61 ff., I would like to make a few remarks from my experiences and researches in Ladakh. Before the days of the Dogra War, say 60 years ago, there do not seem to have been many silver coins in the country. The royal treasure was in ingots of silver and the revenue was paid in kind, consisting chiefly of hides, grain, butter and so on, sent to the king's household. Even at the present day it is almost only in Leh that the currency is in silver, *i. e.*, in Indian money. Elsewhere in the villages barter pure and simple is still the rule.

However, once a year the taxes due to the Maharaja of Kashmir have to be paid in silver, and for this purpose Rupees have to be collected. This is managed in the village of Khalatse in the following manner. The people take all their spare grain and dried apricots to the Salt Lakes and there they effect an exchange in salt, thus: — They have a measure of capacity called 'abo. ½ [i.e., of the Indian Antiquary — ANALYST]

651 436 804 Four *'abo* of grain equal five *'abo* of salt: or two *'abo* of apricots equal one *'abo* of salt. The salt is then taken to Kargil and Baltisan, where rupees are procurable and there exchanged at 2½ *'abo* for the rupee. The rupees when received by the Khalatsepa are not of much use to him, except for the payment of his revenue, and then only to save him from the inconveniences he would incur if he were to tender his grain or apricots instead. Here we have rather a neat instance where salt in a certain recognised measure is the currency, even where the object is to procure a fixed amount of definite coins.

175 436 [435] As regards the ancient tea-money of Tibet, there is a very interesting survival of it in one of the modern Tibetan coins called jau. This name means "a little tea," and was probably once equal in value to a small tea-brick. At the present day, the value of the *jau* is 3 annas 3 pies.

104 It is also interesting to mention here that the Tibetan word "rich," phyugpo, means "possessing many cattle," being derived directly from *phyugs*, cattle. This direct analogy to *pecunia* is most interesting.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

below, snipping every green morsel as it dropped down to Patseo.

Most lakes in Tibet are salt; great crusts of it can be dug up from the shores. It is this coarse, unrefined salt that the sheep caravans bring down. The bags are of coarse wool sewn at the top with heavy twine. They are held on the sheep with a light cinch and a small rope that functions as a breast collar. These bags are seldom taken from the sheep in transit. The designation of an animal's load in this part of the world is a *khal*, and the *khal* of a sheep is 32 pounds. The *khal* of a horse is 128 pounds; the *khal* of a yak, 188 pounds. These sheep I saw carried perhaps twenty pounds apiece.

Sheep trains also bring wool down from Tibet. For many years Lahuli men have gone north in the late spring with sheep that were sometimes loaded with merchandise, sometimes not. They grazed as they went, and when they reached Tibet they bartered their merchandise or brought produce for cash; then, loading the wool in tiny bales on their sheep, they made the long return trip to Patseo.

The sheep and goats I saw coming down from the north with salt were unpacked at Patseo, the bags being piled in walls to form small corrals where the sheep would bed down at night. The sheep caravan had more than salt to offer. The sheep and goats brought wool, too, the wool on their backs; and the shearing started shortly after the caravan was unpacked.

The sheep caravan had not yet been unloaded before a train of twenty mules came swinging down the canyon. These were powerful, rangy animals carrying huge bales. Some of the bales contained wool from Sinkiang *via* Tibet; some, tea from China. A few of the mules packed salt and borax; a few, dried bundles of wild onion (*junbu*), which is used as a spice in India, marmot skins, and silk. The bulk of the freight of the mule caravans was wool—the special Sinkiang wool from the underbelly of the goat, the wool that is used to make soft Kashmir scarves and shawls. It was unsacked and piled in the sun before weighing, in order

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

492 to rid it of the moisture collected from the storms it had been
439 through during its long journey.

Several mule trains had arrived from Manali carrying cereals, tobacco, cloth, pepper, ginger, and sugar. These products from the south were exchanged for those from the north.

• [804] It is a rule of thumb that five sheep loads of salt are the equiva-
437 lent of four sheep loads of barley or corn. There were scales at Patseo—crude scales that looked like miniature teeter-totters. The wool and salt were weighed; the corn and barley were weighed. Then the exchanges were made. This day—August 4, 1951—wool was selling at Patseo for two and one half rupees (fifty cents) a pound. Some money changed hands. But the bulk of the trading was by barter.

The sloping bench above the river at Patseo was dotted with tents, made mostly from pieces of canvas or cloth stretched on poles to form a roof. The walls were the sacks of grain, tea, or salt the merchants had brought to the fair or had purchased. They were piled on three sides as windbreaks. Each tent had a fire of dung. Tea was being brewed in large copper kettles; and *chapattis*—the thin, unleavened bread of India—was being baked on convex copper plates.

49- One mule train started down the trail to Kyelang and Manali loaded with salt and wool. Another started toward Leh heavy with grain. And just before we left for Zing Zing Bar a sheep train that had been at Patseo for several days started its long return journey north. The sheep looked thin and gaunt, for they had been sheared. The little bags they carried on their backs were now filled with grain. A billy was up front, leading the way. And the rest of the sheep were spreading out, looking for nibbles they had missed on the way down.

133 Zing Zing Bar (14,000 feet) is a vast rock field on the Bhaga,
137 spewed from draws that run four thousand feet or more up the mountainside. These rock slides are a mile or more wide, devoid

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XII

Modes & Manners

THE most important domestic work next to the preparation of food is spinning, and it is rare to visit a house without finding some man or woman busy with wool. First of all the raw wool has to be procured. The majority of this comes from the Chang-tang, the great "Northern Plain" beyond Leh, on the way to Greater Tibet, but some comes from Yarkand, and there are many varieties and qualities of it. The best wool, called *lena*, is of soft, silky texture, and is the short downy growth near the skin of the goat, which grows in winter under the long shaggy hairs, and is removed for export in summer. A still finer quality of camel-coloured wool can be obtained from the breast and neck of the Tibetan antelope, but as twenty to thirty of these animals have to be captured in order to procure one *batti* of this wool (a common measurement in Ladak, equal to four English pounds), the price of this quantity is about Rs20, in the raw state, so the textile products, though exquisitely fine and soft, are expensive and rare. The ordinary soft *lena* wool is sent in large quantities to Kashmir, where it is known as *pashmina* and is woven into the celebrated Cashmere shawls. At the time of the great Mogul Emperors, Mirza Hedar, grandfather of the celebrated Akbar, came to Ladak from Yarkand with five hundred men, and paid a long visit to the King. At the latter's request, he conquered the country of Purig, and presented it to his host, then went on down to Kashmir and

283 462 439 [436] [804] 175 439

19: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

country, the fields are arranged in terraces, and irrigated by watercourses cut in fan-like formation from a river, mountain torrent, or from glaciers and large accumulations of snow. 241 312

Size of a Farmstead.

The extent of a man's fields is popularly computed in terms of a yoke of oxen (dzo-ldor), or in a dry measure called a 'Kal' (40 lb.) of seed. Thus if one asks a peasant how large is his arable land, he will reply that he possesses land sufficient to plough with one or two yoke of oxen (dzo-ldor) as the case may be, or he may say that his land requires 2 'Kals' (80 lb.) of seed to sow it. It takes one yoke of oxen to plough a field requiring 1 kal of seed to sow it. Computed in terms of Indian survey measurement, this extent of land would be two 'bigars.' 423 241 804

The average amount of land possessed by a single farmer is that which can be ploughed by one yoke of oxen in four days, therefore requiring 4 kals (160 lb.) of seed. The average yield in a good year for each kal of seed sown is tenfold. 423 241

Lha-zhing (Field belonging to a God).

Dispersed throughout the country are fields which from ancient times belong to a local god (Lha-zhing). These are cultivated by the peasants who, at the Buddhist new year (February), and again in May when ploughing begins, have to regale the bearer of the wood image of that god with beer and one measure of barley. The cultivator of these fields may, however, reserve the harvest for his own use. [76]

Alternation of Crops.

Barley is sown two years successively, and the land is manured on the previous autumn or spring. On the third year a crop of wheat is grown, the land being similarly treated with manure. On the fourth year buckwheat is sown, but this does not require manure. Then on the fifth year barley is again sown, and so on. 241

Barley, wheat and buckwheat have been grown for an indefinitely long time, and are indigenous crops, but during the past fifty years rye has been cultivated with marked success. This was introduced by the Moravian mission operating in this country, as also were potatoes, vegetables and fruit trees. [77]

Sometimes an insect destroys the barley soon after it is sown, in which case the people water the unproductive field and then sow more seed by loosening the soil with a small implement like a hoe with a short handle (surmo).